245 466 [465] [492] [493] No payment was prescribed, and none was made for carrying from the plantations to the depot at Higaturu. Sometimes payment was made for carrying produce the 16 miles from Higaturu to the port (usually in twist tobacco according to informants), but at other times persons convicted of breaches of the ordinance were required to carry as punishment. Mules were later introduced to carry the produce from the factory to the port, and in the late 1930's a truck was acquired to transport it from Popondetta to Sanananda. The mule train was still used between Higaturu and Popondetta until 1940.

245 177 Official reports of the period consider the reluctance of the villagers to have been due either to a lack of understanding of the benefits they would derive from the scheme or to innate laziness. C. T. Wurth, who was Resident Magistrate in 1926, considered that the people "had not grasped the advantages of the plantation and the benefits they will eventually reap" and noted that many men from the villages with plantations had gone off to work as labourers elsewhere (P. A. R. 1925-6 : 50). His successor described the "toil and disappointments" entailed in supervising the plantations and stated that the village people "have to be driven to it by the fear of gaol". (1) He was aware that there was no cash return during the first four years after establishment of plantations and hoped that attitudes would change as soon as the trees came into bearing and income was derived.

241 [651] As noted on page 7, half the produce of the plantations was to belong to those who produced it and the other half to the government. But in practice in the Northern District, producers were required to deliver all produce to the government depots at Higaturu, Popondetta and Buna. (2) The half of the

(1) P. A. R. 1926-7 : 53. A later magistrate followed a policy of "incessant talking to the village councillors ... for even if they do not think his [the magistrate's] advice worth following, they may be glad to take it as the only means of keeping him quiet" - P. A. R. 1933-4 : 29.

(2) The main depot was at Higaturu until 1941, but in that year new machinery was installed at Popondetta to handle pulping, drying and hulling. (Since 1933 the coffee had been shipped in the parchment stage to Port Moresby where it was hulled at the government rice factory). Before the Higaturu depot was closed, however, war broke out and all three depots were destroyed.

241 universally small and there is no evidence to suggest that any
[464] village producers are employing labour to increase production.[1]

454 Monetary investment at the village level is low and there are
no motor vehicles owned by individuals or groups of subsistence
493 villagers,[2] although a number of villages now possess copra driers
407 and coffee pulping machines.

The foregoing data suggest three main factors, largely unique to the sub-district, which may explain this situation.

464 (i) Labour shortages. Since pacification there have been repeated references to a high proportion of the adult male labour force being absent from their villages. Humphries (1923:203) refers to the Kumusi district being a 'famous recruiting-ground for plantation labourers' at the time of the first world war. Patrol reports after the second world war make periodic references to shortages of manpower in the villages and suggest that the regulation maximum of 30 per cent absent was at times exceeded (e.g. Higaturu 1-1543/44). The establishment of plantations under the ex-servicemen's credit scheme attracted much local labour at a time when returns from wage
[461] labour were considerably higher than those from cash cropping. Many Orokaiva still prefer wage labour to commercial agriculture as a source of cash.

731 (ii) Consequences of the disasters. The effects of the war and
433 the volcanic eruption served to accentuate the instability of settlement and fragmentation of groups. Resettlement after the eruption took several years in some cases and is likely to have deterred interest in planting commercial trees, at least in the directly affected area, which was the most densely settled part of the Orokaiva region. The findings quoted earlier[3] suggest that the initial Orokaiva adaption to the volcanic disaster was more active

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[1] Since our survey, one Inonda man has taken a job as a driver in Popondetta and employs a labourer at $3 per week to maintain his food gardens. For a description of four Orokaiva entrepreneurs with large holdings of cash crops see Crocombe 1967.

[439] [2] With the single exception of the indigenous ex-servicemen settlers,
[464] several of whom own vehicles; imported foodstuffs comprise a signif-
[465] icant element of their diet and considerable use is made of outside labour, commonly kinsmen. Payment, however, is often nominal or in kind.

[3] See p.16. A

A,[See Category 731, p.16--Analyst]

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

the losers. Villagers may also lose a fair proportion of their cash income through gambling.

(vi) The use of cash. Income is used for settling obligations, direct consumption and capital savings. The first includes taxes to the local government council, contributions to the mission and marriage payments. These occur only occasionally, but their size may require that an individual seek wage employment or harvest his cash crops with the specific purpose of meeting such requirements. The heaviest demands coincide with and immediately follow the period of most intensive cash crop production. Between about March and July the Higaturu Local Government Council collects its annual tax of $6 per adult male and $2 per female. During the latter half of the year, the Anglican mission seeks contributions to its Papuan Church Fund, in some areas recommending gifts of $4 by men and $2 by women. Cash also circulates among villagers in the form of small gifts as part of the 'normal' exchange pattern.

Most villages are within half an hour's walk of trade stores and during the dry season in particular, distinct recourse is made to them for food. Only very small sums are paid out at markets or to hawkers.

Opportunities for investing savings occur with two local companies, Oro Ltd and the OCCS, and with the major savings banks through their agencies. In spite of a required minimum shareholding of $5 and $10 respectively, the first two have elicited considerable support and are preferred to savings accounts because interest on the latter is considered too small.[1] In addition to shares, a considerable amount of money is tied up in village or clan savings accounts but there are few instances of this money being used to benefit the group.

Apart from the few trade stores and coffee pulpers, little income is invested in large capital equipment. Herein, perhaps, lies the anomaly of commercial agriculture in the Northern District. In spite of the long record of experimentation with various forms of work organisation and tenure (admittedly, largely directed from outside), the degree of economic development remains low when compared with the Gazelle Peninsula or parts of the Eastern and Western Highlands Districts. The proportion of cash croppers among villagers is lower, as are the actual incomes derived from cash cropping and there are no locally-owned vehicles (except those of ex-servicemen settlers). Nevertheless, interest in commercial agriculture is

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[1] One expatriate planter who operates a savings bank agency expressed concern that withdrawals had exceeded deposits for the twelve months preceding mid-1964. He believed that the money was being used principally to buy shares in Oro Ltd.

purchases. In this way the shareholders obtained additional rebate benefits. In general, however, sales to non-shareholders correlated fairly closely with the presence or absence of small coastal trading vessels at the wharf.

Most of the buying at the store was done by men. There were no women shareholders, but wives and daughters used their husbands' and fathers' share numbers when purchasing goods.[1] The men were discriminating buyers and a man who had walked some miles to the store to buy a specific item would usually stand for a while surveying the goods displayed and asking a question or two about prices. After the purchase was made, usually of only one or two items, the buyer left the store, but usually stopped to chat at Surilai village on the northern side of the store before going home.

An analysis made of the spending patterns of a group of 27 Yega shareholders over a two-year period (January 1961-December 1962) showed that of a total expenditure of $1148, 49 per cent was spent on food (mainly tinned meat, tinned fish, rice and sugar), 11 per cent on tobacco, 11 per cent on clothing, 7 per cent on kitchen utensils, 3 per cent on garden tools and 17 per cent on miscellaneous items including torches, soft drinks, kerosene, matches, fishing gear, etc.

The most sought after foods were those with high protein content - tinned meats and fish. Only one bicycle (costing $52) was sold during the two years surveyed. The low rate of spending on garden tools is noteworthy, considering the importance of gardening in the Yega economy; but axes and bush knives were carefully guarded and, being very durable they needed only occasional replacement.

Almost every Yega child over six years of age and every adult of both sexes owned at least one item of European-type clothing. On working days, cotton skirts were worn by the girls and women, and shorts or cotton loin cloths by the men, but tara (bark cloth) skirts were preferred by the adolescent girls and tapa boavo (bark loin cloth) by the older men for Sunday wear. Most people preferred to purchase their clothing requirements from the wider range available in the larger Popondetta stores rather than from the co-operative.

Retail trading showed a remarkable increase from 1961-2 to 1962-3. The turnover doubled during the financial year but a fall-off in trade of about 12½ per cent occurred in 1963-4. This situation probably resulted from lower spending by Yega shareholders,

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[1] In the course of six or seven visits to the store I can recall only once having seen a woman at the counter.

informal 'company' was formed to operate the enterprise. There were sixteen shareholders, all residents of A's hamlet or the absent sons of residents. A contributed $144 in cash while the others contributed $10 each. This money is used as working capital and placed in a Cocoa Account at the savings bank. It is controlled by A's eldest son, who is referred to as chairman of the company and is generally responsible for the handling and marketing of produce.

Wet cocoa beans were bought from villagers from moneys in the Cocoa Account at 3 cents per pound and fermented and dried. They were shipped through a local trading firm and sold on the London market. The fermentary has not been very successful because most villagers outside A's hamlet sold to a European fermentary which collected the beans and paid a higher price. Another, and perhaps more important, reason that the local fermentary was not patronised lay in tensions and divided loyalties within the neighbouring villages. From early 1962 until May 1963 only 7,080 pounds of wet cocoa beans were processed using the temporary fermentary. No later figures are available but the credit balance in the Cocoa Account rose from $174.07 in June 1963 to $470 in January 1966.

All four entrepreneurs aspire to owning a motor vehicle. A's early attempts were declined by officials,[1] and his attempt to establish a bus service in 1963 (for which he had sufficient finance) was thwarted when the only licence was granted to an expatriate. He still gives top priority to buying a vehicle for his own cartage and for hire. B had the funds but not the driving skill.

The difficulty of acquiring a skill such as driving is often overlooked. For a person in a rural area it is usually necessary to go to a town and get a job. Even then one may spend several years in an unskilled job without getting the opportunity to learn to drive. Few Papuans have vehicles and most people are naturally reluctant to allow others to practise on their vehicles. B's son has now tried unsuccessfully for three years to find an opportunity to learn to drive. C and D have each been seeking a cheap second-hand vehicle for some time, but the likelihood of establishing a successful carrying business is doubtful, for overheads are high, business would probably be irregular and many of the potential customers would have difficulty in paying. In the long term, as incomes rise, there will certainly be openings for such ventures. In the meantime, however, there is a danger that a transport business would survive only if it was subsidised in part at least from

[1] Official approval was then necessary for indigenous people to go into debt.

income derived from cash-cropping and trading. Prestige may be an even more important motivation to the acquisition of vehicles than it is with trade stores.

Other property

As shown in Table 3 the entrepreneurs have tools to the average replacement value of $30 and equipment associated with their cash-cropping to an average replacement value of $180 - an average of $210 per man. By comparison Orokaiva people of Inonda village had only about $13 and Sivepe village about $18 worth of tools and equipment per household.[1]

The entrepreneurs all had a range of consumers durable goods far beyond that found in villages. A and B owned bicycles worth about $50 each, A and D each had a radio which cost $60 and $47 respectively, and A and D also each owned wood-burning stoves costing about $70 each. The wife of C had a sewing machine which cost $70 (not listed in the table of tools and equipment as it is used only for domestic purposes). All had kerosene lamps and three of the four had clocks or watches. The average replacement value of the above items was in the region of $125 per man. It is estimated that possessions of this kind in Orokaiva villages in which we worked would average about $10 per householder.

The houses of the entrepreneurs are all somewhat larger than the average village house, and for many years B maintained two homes - one in his coffee garden and one in the cocoa garden. D's home is much more elaborate than the others and contains crockery, cutlery and kitchen utensils worth over $50 as well as beds, chairs, tables and curtains which are almost never found among villagers. A has a modern cocoa fermentary worth $500, B has a coffee drying store and trays, estimated worth $80, and C a copra drier worth about $100.

By comparison with other Orokaiva people the entrepreneurs have few livestock, at least partly because they damage the root systems of the coffee and cocoa trees. A, B and C had none at all and D kept thirteen fowls from which he hopes to breed for commercial egg and poultry production. Householders at Inonda and Sivepe, by contrast, kept an average of two pigs and two to three fowls each.

At the request of the entrepreneurs, details of their individual holdings of cash are not included in this paper and can only be made available to researchers or to others with the permission of the entrepreneurs. All four have savings accounts, the average

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

[1] Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:44-5, Rimoldi 1966:25. Other comparisons in this section are drawn from the same sources.